



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

XXVII.—THE OPENING OF THE EPISODE OF FINN IN *BEOWULF*

I

The *Episode of Finn* presents perhaps greater difficulties to the critic than any other passage in *Beowulf*. The manuscript text is lacking in clearness and the narrative teems with obscure allusions. The complication is further increased by the fact that of the five extant epic monuments in Anglo-Saxon three contain references to the "matter of Finn" in a virtually discrepant form. In *Widsith* we find mention of the two principal antagonists of the saga,¹ and the *Finnsburg Fragment* clearly pertains to the subject-matter of the lay which the court minstrel chants at King Hrothgar's banquet and which the poet of *Beowulf* interpolates in what would seem to be a form of "headings."

The bare outlines of the Finn-saga—all we are justified in reconstructing from the evidence supplied by these three sources—might be rendered as follows: On account of some unknown ill-feeling, Finn, king of the Frisians, comes to blows with a Danish contingent under the command of Hnæf, son of Hoc and lord of the Hocings. In this clash, caused immediately by treachery, the leader Hnæf is slain, along with a son of Finn. The Frisian ranks, moreover, are depleted and peace is concluded between the Frisian king and Hengest, successor to Hnæf. This peace, despite its advantageous terms for the Danes, is in reality a bitter humiliation for them, since thereby they become thanes of the slayer of Hnæf. At the earliest

¹ Cf. *Widsith*, ll. 27 and 29.

fe lufe 7 þone ænne heht golde
 dan þone ðe grendel ær mane acpea
 153
 spa he hƿa ma polde ne ne him ƿi
 god ƿƿyrd ƿorſcōde 7 ðæs mannes mod
 god eallum ƿeold sume na cynnes spā
 nu ƿit ðeð ƿor þan bið and ƿit æs hƿe
 seleſt ƿerhdes ƿore þanc ƿela ſceal
 biðan leofes 7 laþes se þe longe he ƿi
 ƿys sū ƿin dazum ƿorolde bƿuced þær
 þæs ſanƿ 7 ƿes ſamod æt ƿæðene ƿore
 healfdenes hilde ƿi ſan ƿomen ƿudu
 ƿreced ƿið of ƿre cen. ðon healf gamen
 hƿoþ ƿanes ſcop æt ƿi me do bence ma
 nan ſcolde ƿinner eaƿerum ðu he ſe
 ƿær be ƿeac hæled healf dena hƿær
 ſcylðinga in ƿi ƿæle ƿeallan ſcolde
 ne hƿu hilde bƿiþ he ƿian þor ƿe
 eotena 7 ƿeope unſynnum ƿearð be
 loƿer leofu æt þa hild ƿlegan bearnum
 7 ƿroðſum he on ƿe bƿyrd hƿuion ƿane

opportunity, therefore, the pact is broken, and in the ensuing struggles Finn is slain, and his wife, Hildeburh, and his treasures are carried off over the seas.

The circumstances attending the recital of this feud are noteworthy. The song is sung in a Danish court, before a Danish assemblage; and, altho the real hero of the entire epic, Beowulf, is a Geat, the episode as well as the poem *Beowulf* is thruout a glorification of Danish prowess and adventure. In the lines preceding our episode a banquet is described which Hrothgar tenders to Beowulf on the occasion of the latter's conquest of the demon Grendel. The grateful king bestows costly presents upon the hero and his doughty rout, and in the course of the festivities the bard sings a lay to the sound of a harp. In Zupitza's transliteration the text of these opening lines is as follows: ²

| | |
|---|------|
| þær | |
| wæs sang ond/swæg samod æt-gædere fore | |
| healfdenes hilde-wisan *gomen-wudu | 1065 |
| greted gid oft wrecen. ðonne heal-gamen | |
| hroþ-gares scop æfter medo-bence mæ- | |
| nan scolde finnes eaferum ða hie se | |
| fær begeat hæleð healf-dena hnæf | |
| scyldinga *in/fres-wæle feallan scolde. | 1070 |

The tenth edition of Heyne-Schücking's *Beowulf* (Paderborn, 1913) presents these lines in the following metrical arrangement:

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| þær wæs sang ond swæg | samod ætgædere |
| fore Healfdenes | hilde-wisan, |

² Zupitza, *Beowulf, Autotypes etc. EETS*, London, 1882, p. 49, ll. 1063 ff. Compare with the facsimile at the head of these pages. Zupitza hyphenates words or syllables belonging together and, in addition, separates by a vertical line two words wrongly written as one. The asterisk indicates the opening of the lines noted in the margin. Another hyphen between *wi* and *san* is needed in his text in order to visualize the lacuna in the manuscript.

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|------|
| gomen-wudu grēted, | gid oft wrecen, | 1065 |
| þonne heal-gamen | Hrōðgāres scop | |
| æfter medo-bence | mānan scolde, | |
| Finnes eaferan, | þā hie sē fār begeat, | |
| hæleð Healf-Dena, | Hnæf Scyldinga, | |
| in Frēs-wæle | feallan scolde. | 1070 |

The significant alteration in l. 1068 of ms. *eaferum* to *eaferan* furnishes also the starting-point of our discussion. For upon the interpretation of this word depends whether the episode, terminating in l. 1159, is to begin with l. 1068 or with l. 1069. In other words, whether, with Arnold,³ "the tale opens with a fine abruptness," or in fact has no opening at all.⁴

Scholarly opinion with respect to this moot word has been varied and in just such a manner determinative of the commencement of the Episode. In general a three-fold division can be arranged, comprising both the various

³ Arnold, *Notes on Beowulf*, New York and Bombay, 1898, p. 22.

⁴ As to the morphological aspect of *eaferum*, it will be noticed that l. 375 likewise offers a form of the word in a reading assumed to be faulty: ms. *eaforan* has been held to be nom. sg. *eafora* since the emendation proposed by Grundtvig, 1820, p. 272; also l. 19, ms. *eafera*, where Trautmann, Heyne-Schücking and Holthausen follow Kemble in reading *eaferan*, Klaeber, *Eng. Stud.*, xxxix, p. 428, dissenting. In the manuscript, *eaferum* is written out in full, and is not abbreviated by means of the customary heavy hooked line over the preceding vowel. If the ending appeared as *ā*, which might stand for incorrectly transcribed *ā*, since the hook denoted *-n* as well as *-m*, there might be reason for emendation to *-an*. Even then, final *-an* abridged to *ā* is exceedingly rare in *Beowulf*: l. 60 *ræs*wan (Kemble), is *ræs*wa without a hook in the text, and l. 2996 *syðð*a, altered by Grundtvig to *syðð*an, is similarly unmarked. Chambers's revision of Wyatt, (Wyatt-Chambers, *Beowulf*, Cambridge, England, 1914, p. xix, fn. 2), reads *forðā* in ll. 2645 and 2741 as *forðam*. On the other hand, acc. sg. *eaferan* appears in all clearness in ll. 1547 and 1847; nom. pl. *eaferan* in l. 2475; acc. pl. *eaferan* in l. 1185,—all three functions of the identical form at full length, whilst in l. 2470 ms. *eaferū* yields dat. pl. *eaferum* and in l. 1710 *eaforum* is unabridged.

editions of the text and the linguistically more valuable translations based upon them. The latter, mirroring in the concrete the textual conjectures advanced, must be regarded as of considerable significance, particularly so when prepared by the editors themselves, such as Heyne or Grein or Wyatt.⁵

A. In the first class stand Thorpe and Heyne-Socin who in their respective editions, 1855 and 1888 (the fifth edition of Heyne), felt the urgent need of some explicative preposition in front of *eaferum*. Accordingly Thorpe proposed *be* and read and translated the passage as follows, the introduction being mine:

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| (There song and music was mingled together | |
| Before Healfdene's battle-leader, | |
| The harp was struck, full many songs recited) | |
| þonne heal-gamen | when <i>the</i> joy of hall |
| Hrōðgāres scōp, | Hrothgar's gleeman, |
| æfter medo-bence, | after <i>the</i> mead-bench |
| mænan scolde | should recount |
| (be) Finnes eaferum, | (of) Fin's offspring, |
| þa hte se fæ̃r begeat | when them peril o'erwhelmed; |
| hæleþ Healfdenes | when Healfdene's hero |
| * * * * * | * * * * * |
| feallan scolde. | was doomed to fall. |

Holder, whose *Abdruck* is based on a collation by Thorpe,⁶ improves on the latter to the extent of a colon and marks of quotation before the interpolated (*Be*) and glosses the word as 'mit Bezug auf, für, um—willen, im Umkreise von.'

As recently as last year, Professor Klaeber⁷ repudiates his

⁵ For a tolerably complete account of the translations of *Beowulf* before 1903, consult C. B. Tinker, *The Translations of Beowulf, a Critical Bibliography*, New York, 1903.

⁶ Holder, *Beowulf*, 3rd ed., Freiburg und Leipzig, 1895.

⁷ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xiv, p. 548.

former endorsement⁸ of Trautmann's correction, *q. v.* under B., of ms. *eaferum* to *-an*, and declares that "the insertion of *be* (Thorpe) in l. 1068: *be Finnes eaferum* 'about Finn's men' or 'about Finn and his men' (cp. *Hrēðlingas* 2960, *eaforum Ecgwelan* 1710) is after all more natural than the change to *eaferan* (*Bonner Beitr. z. Angl.* II, 183), tho the latter would be quite possible stylistically (*Angl.* XXVIII, 443)." It would then seem as if Klaeber were in reality quite uncertain which emendation to accept, Kemble's prefixal preposition or Trautmann's terminal change of the crucial word. What is important to note is that in both instances he proposes an alteration of the original text.⁹

Socin's edition of Heyne (5-7: 1888-1903) involves the addition of a postpositive *fram* to l. 1068,

mānan scolde

Finnes eaferum fram, þā hie se fæ̃r begeat,

somewhat in the sense of l. 875: *þæt hē fram Sigemunde h̃yrde ellen-dædum*, 'concerning Sigemund, concerning his deeds of valor.'¹⁰ I leave both suggestions, *be* and *fram*, with the remark that, besides the textual alteration they imply, they also disturb the metrical arrangement of the line in which they would have to be interpolated.

⁸ *Anglia*, XXVIII, p. 433.

⁹ The provenience of the preposition *be* has given rise to misunderstanding. It is correctly given by Klaeber as coming from Thorpe, and incorrectly, let us say, by Holder as being Kemble's suggestion. Thorpe, to be sure, did not publish the results of his investigations until 1855 and one finds before this that both the German H. Leo (*Beowulf, Ein Beitrag*, Halle, 1839, p. 80, *bē Finnes ēaferum*) and Kemble's second edition, 1835, and his translation, 1837, submit the insertion. The well-known intercommunication between Kemble and Thorpe (cf. Wyatt-Chambers, p. xxi, and a footnote to be found in Kemble's text to l. 2129 "*(Be) Finnes. T.*") leave, I believe, no doubt as to the actual source of the suggestion.

¹⁰ The emendation *Sigemundes* is Grein's.

J. Lesslie Hall's poetic translation ¹¹ follows its prototype, the Heyne-Socin text, very closely:

when the singer of Hrothgar
On mead-bench should mention the merry hall-joyance
Of the kinsmen of Finn, when onset surprised them:
"The Half-Danish hero, Hnæf of the Scyldings,
On the field of the Frisians was fated to perish.

B. The second class of critics attempts the transformation of MS. *eaferum* into *eaferan*, following therein Trautmann's scheme, allusion to which has just been made in connection with Klæber's reversion to Thorpe. Trautmann has since similarly withdrawn his change and offered instead *gefēran*, an entirely new word,¹² but in his original conjecture he proceeds as follows: The court poet cannot be said to sing a hall-joy when he begins to chant the mournful lay of Finn's descendants. Hence *healgamen* must be *heal-guma*, a 'hall man,' in apposition to *scop*; then, in order to furnish another object to *mānan* Trautmann substitutes *eaferan* for *eaferum*,¹³ the presence of which in the text he attributes to a Northumbrian *eaferu*. The resultant construction reads, 'Then must a hall-man, a bard of Hrothgar, laud (or lament?)¹⁴ Finn's descendants along the mead-benches.'

Binz, in his review of Trautmann,¹⁵ goes even farther and reads *ðonne healgumum . . . mānan scolde Finnes*

¹¹ Boston, 1892.

¹² He translates, 'besingen sollte den Finn und seine gefährten, als das verderben über sie kam'; cf. Trautmann, *Finn und Hildebrand*, *Bonner Beitr.*, VII, p. 11 (1903). This new version is quite superfluous; cf. Cosijn, *Aanteekeningen op den Beowulf*, Leiden, 1891-2, p. 26.

¹³ Transversely, he alters l. 1064 *hilde-wisan* into *hilde-wisum*, pl., altho in *Finn und Hildebrand* he resumes the original form.

¹⁴ *mānan* 2, English 'moan.'

¹⁵ *Zs. f. deut. Phil.*, XXXVII, p. 529.

earfeþu ða hine se fēar begeat, where the direct object of *mānan* is *earfeþu*, and the dative *healgumum*: the scop sang to the men in the hall of the tribulations of Finn. The sense is excellent but the emendation reckless.

Trautmann's recommendation, modified by Klaeber,¹⁶ to the extent of retaining *heal-gamen* as the first, and *eaferan* as the second direct object of *mānan*—a stylistically unusual but yet justifiable juxtaposition,¹⁷ with the meaning, 'when Hrothgar's minstrel proclaimed the joys of the hall: the descendants of Finn, when destruction fell over them,'—was adopted in the editions of Holthausen,¹⁸ and Heyne-Schücking¹⁹, 1913, and is considered by Professor Lawrence the best solution of the difficulty.¹⁹

Among the translators of *Beowulf*, Gummere renders in accordance with this conception²⁰

as Hrothgar's singer the hall-joy woke
along the mead-seats, making his song
of that sudden raid on the sons of Finn.
Healfdene's hero, Hnæf the Scylding,
was fated to fall in the Frisian slaughter.

Similarly Vogt, Halle, 1905:

Als Lust in der Halle Hrodgars Sänger
Zu verkünden begann die Metbank entlang:
Von den Söhnen Finns, da sie Ueberfall traf
Und Halfdenes Held, Hnäf der Skylding,
In Fresväl sollte sein Ende finden.

Trautmann himself, in his translation²¹ which carries

¹⁶ *Anglia*, xxviii, p. 443.

¹⁷ Cf. *Herrigs Archiv*, cviii, p. 370.

¹⁸ Second and third editions, 1908-9 and 1912-3. The text of the first edition shows *eaferum*, but the notes, 1906, advocate Trautmann's acc. pl. form.

¹⁹ W. W. Lawrence, *Beowulf and the Tragedy of Finnsburg*, PMLA, xxx, p. 397.

²⁰ Gummere, *The Oldest English Epic*, New York, 1909.

²¹ *Bonner Beiträge*, xvi (1904).

out all the modifications proposed in his *Finn und Hildebrand*, writes

1066 als ein saalmann, ein sänger Hrothgars,
über die metbänke hin besingen sollte den
Finn und seine gefährten, als das verderben über sie kam:
(‘Hnæf, der held der Halbdänen, der Scildinge,
sollte auf einer Friesen-walstatt fallen.

Gering’s version ²² follows Holthausen’s text; consequently we find

1065 Die Harfe ertönte zum Heldenliede,
Das Hrodgars Sänger den Hörern zur Lust
Auf des Machthabers Wunsch an der Metbank vortrug,
Wie Finns Geschlecht das Furchtbare traf
Und Hnäf der Scylding, ein Held der Dänen,
Auf friesischer Walstatt fallen sollte.

C. The critical editors of the third class attempt no change in the text with respect to the word *eaferum*, altho their interpretation of the latter is twofold. Thus, Heyne ²³ holds the form to be a dative plural, ends the clause introduced by *þonne* with *begeat*, and sets marks of quotation before the next line. On the other hand, Grein’s *Sprachschatz* ²⁴ lists *eaferum* as an instrumental plural, and in fact both Grein and Wülcker regard the form as an inst. pl. with reference to *feallan scolde*.²⁵ Arnold, who in general adheres to Grein’s constructions, prints the passage without deviation from his prototype.²⁶ Wyatt approves of Grein’s solution of the problem.²⁷ Sedge-

²² Second edition, Heidelberg, 1913. Page xiv advises the reader that the author has had access to the proofsheets of Holthausen.

²³ First edition, Paderborn, 1863, l. 1069!

²⁴ First edition, 1864; new edition, by Köhler and Holthausen, Heidelberg, 1912.

²⁵ Grein, *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie*, I, Göttingen, 1857; 2nd edition, by Wülcker, Kassel, 1883.

²⁶ Arnold, *Beowulf*, London, 1876.

²⁷ Wyatt, *Beowulf*, Cambridge, 1894 and 1898.

field's edition—prepared upon an actual consultation of the manuscript—in a like manner retains the *-um* plural,²⁸ whilst the latest edition in the bibliography of the subject, Chambers's Wyatt,²⁹ remarks, "It is less satisfactory from the point of view of style³⁰ (than Trautmann's alteration) to make the lay begin, as in the text, with l. 1068; but it enables us to keep *eafærum*, which we must take as instrumental."

Heyne's translation, made from his first edition, being long out of print, was inaccessible to me, save in the second version,³¹

1072 und oft erklang die Harfe zu dem Liede
 von Halfdens Feldherrn und von Finnes Söhnen,
 als sie der Überfall betraf; der Sänger
 des Königs würzte so des Schmauses Freude:
 „Der Dänen Held, der Skylding Hnäf erlag
 „in Friesenburg. . . .

Garnett's English rendering³² is based on Grein's text of 1867, but makes use of Heyne's fourth edition as well:

1066 When joy in hall Hrothgar's minstrel
 Along the mead-bench was to make known:
 "He sang of Finn's sons when that danger befell
 The heroes of Healfdene, when Hnæf of the Scyldings
 In Frisian land was fated to fall.

It is evident that the version of l. 1068 here advanced relegates Garnett to Class B, even tho his fundamental

²⁸ First edition, Manchester, 1910, follows Holthausen¹ as to text, but translates 'was to fall at the hands of the sons of Finn.' The second edition, 1913, harks back to Thorpe, without a change in the text, "The insertion of *be* would simplify the construction."

²⁹ Cambridge, 1914.

³⁰ As to this objection cf. pp. 776 ff.

³¹ Paderborn, 1898; first edition, 1863.

³² Boston, 1882; poetic, not prose, as Sedgfield lists it; 4th edition, 1900; the 2d edition, 1885, is consulted.

text is that of Grein. On the other hand, Ettmüller,³³ starting out with the following manuscript reading

552 þonne healgamen Hrōðgāres scōp
 æfter medobence mænan scolde:
 "Finnes eaforum, þā hie se fær begeat,
 * * * * feallan scolde!

arrives at an entirely different result:³⁴

"Durch Finnes Nachkommen, als sie Fahr ergriff,
 'Healfdenes Held, Hnäf der Skildinge,
 'in den Frisen Lande fallen sollte.

Similarly Grein,³⁵

1068 „Durch die Abkömmlinge des Finn, als der Ueberfall betraf
 „die Helden Healfdenes, sollte Hnäf der Skilding
 „fallen blutig auf der Friesenwalstatt.

Arnold imitates his prototype quite closely,³⁶ "By Finn's heirs, when the peril assailed them, Healfdene's hero, Hnäf the Scylding, in the Frisian slaughter was doomed to fall." Clark Hall, relying upon Wyatt's reading which, we recall, here agrees with Grein's, translates, ". . . the harp was played, a ballad oft rehearsed, when Hrothgar's bard was to proclaim joy in the hall along the mead-bench. 'Hnäf of the Scyldings, a hero of the Half-Danes, was doomed to fall in the Frisian quarrel, by the sons of Finn, when the alarm reached them . . .'"³⁷

³³ Ettmüller, *Engla and Seaxna scopas and bōceras*, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1837. In the footnotes he remarks, "Kemblus hunc versum (554) ad verba priora trahit, jungens eum cum *mænan scolde*; et Thorpius *be Finnes eaforum* legere vult."

³⁴ Cf. his alliterating translation, Zürich, 1840.

³⁵ Grein, *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*, Göttingen, 1857.

³⁶ Arnold, Text, London, 1878, p. 72 fn. and *Notes on Beowulf*, New York and Bombay, 1898. According to Garnett, *AJP*, I, p. 90, Arnold's text is Thorpe's, modified to suit Grein, 1857.

³⁷ Clark Hall, *Beowulf*, prose, London, 1901. His metrical trans-

Child's translation is but a variant of this ³⁸: "Through the sons of Finn, when the onslaught came on them, must Hnæf the Scylding, famed warrior of the Half-Danes, in the Frisian slaughter meet with his fall."

Lastly, Wyatt-Chambers's note, p. 55, "At the hands of the children of Finn . . . the hero of the Healfdene, Hnæf, was doomed to fall," corresponds in construction faithfully to Morris and Wyatt's alliterative version, London, 1895:

The wood of glee greted, the lay wreaked often,
 Whenas the hall-game the minstrel of Hrothgar
 All down by the mead-bench tale must be making:
 "By Finn's sons aforetime, when the fear gat them,
 The hero of Half-Danes, Hnæf of the Scyldings,
 On the slaughter-field Frisian needs must he fall."

II

Chambers's defense of his interpretation of l. 1068 is of peculiar significance: "It is less satisfactory from the point of view of style to make the lay begin, as in the text, with l. 1068; *but it enables us to keep eafterum, which we must take as instrumental.*" (Italics mine.) The principle of basing conclusions preferably upon the unamended text receives here an important illustration. The present writer has before this brought the force and function designated by the *-um* ending in Anglo-Saxon in line with a

lation, Cambridge, 1914, based, as the author admits, no longer on Wyatt, but on a "catholic" collation of texts, reads differently:

when Hrothgar's bard was to give sport
 to mead-bench folk about Finn's sons,
 on whom there came the sudden blow.
 "Hnæf of the Scyldings, hero and Half-Dane,
 was fated to fall in the Frisian slaughter.

³⁸ Child, *Beowulf*, prose, The Riverside Literature Series, New York, 1904.

similar phenomenon to be found in all the chief Germanic languages,—the dative-instrumental of personal agency.¹ It is this dative of the agent which, without a specific name or a surmise as to its dialectal correlation, had been proposed for the rendering of *eaferum* by Ettmüller, Grein, Wülcker, Wyatt, Arnold, Chambers, and others referred to in the preceding pages. W. W. Lawrence² credits Grein and Wyatt with their share of the suggestion, but is unaware of the corroborative evidence collected by the writer. On the other hand, Professor Klaeber,³ finds, after an investigation of the subject, that “a strong effort has recently been made to establish the use of this dative in Anglo-Saxon, . . . but the instances adduced are of questionable value and afford only very slender support.” In view of the stand taken by these two scholars in favor of an unnecessary alteration in the *Beowulf* manuscript, it behooves us to state and stress the actual facts of the case.

It is well known that the Germanic, hence the Anglo-Saxon, dative is, like the dative form in Greek and the ablative in Latin, a syncretistic case and comprises the function of the instrumental as well, not to speak in this connection of the ablative and the locative.⁴ It is admitted that instances of such personified action as Gothic, *uswagidai jah usflaugidai winda hammeh*, ‘circumferamur omni vento doctrinae,’ *Eph.* 4, 14; Old Norse, *oll hollin mun vera skipuð hræðilegum ornum*, *Fornn. Suð.* 70, 26; Anglo-Saxon, *dēaw-drīas weorðeð winde geondsāwen*, *Dan.* 277,—evidencing a synthetic ‘dative’ form, are nevertheless expressive of an instrumental func-

¹ Green, *The Dative of Agency*, New York, 1913, pp. 95 ff. and *JEGPh.*, XIII, pp. 515 ff.

² *PMLA.*, XXX, p. 398.

³ *JEGPh.*, XIV, p. 548.

⁴ Cf. Delbrück, *Synkretismus*, Strassburg, 1907.

tion. Such 'personified means' can and does gradate into the force of the 'personal agent' in Old Norse and Gothic; thus, Old Norse, *Norðimbraland var mest byggt Norðmonnum*, *Fornm.* I, 23, *ok vasat hann ósum alinn*, *Vm.* 38, 5 'er wurde nicht von den Asen erzeugt';⁵ and similarly, *ráp's þér rápit*, *Fm.* 21, 1 in the sense of *af dig*.⁶ Gothic, *ei ni gasaiwaizau mannam fastands*, *Mt.* 6, 18, which already Köhler⁷ classes among the datives with passive verbs, "wie wir im Lateinischen gar nicht selten beim Passivum den Dativ . . . finden," and which is correctly rendered in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, *þæt þū ne sý gesewen fram mannum fæstende*; *Mk.* 11, 17 *þata razn mein razn bido haitada allaim þiudom* is shown by the Anglo-Saxon version to be instrumental in force, *þæt mīn hūs fram eallum þēodum bið genemneð gebedhūs*.

It is, thus, erroneous to say that, while the parallel syntactic development of Old Norse, Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon is not assailed, a dative-instrumental of agency in the last-named dialect is *à priori* out of the question.⁸ It is our ill-luck that, while the use, in general, of the instrumental without prepositions is preserved,⁹ the very idea of agency in *Beowulf*, as indeed in Anglo-Saxon poetry as a whole, is rare. It will be remembered that indefinite passives, *i. e.*, verbs with the psychological subject unmentioned, are common also to the poetically terse *Heliand*.¹⁰

⁵ Delbrück, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Detter and Heinzel, *Sæmundar Edda*, Leipzig, 1903, II, p. 165, annotate this passage, "Der nackte Dativ kann in Passivconstructionen statt des mit *af* verbundenen stehen."

⁶ Nygaard, *Norrøn Syntax*, Kristiania, 1905, p. 99.

⁷ *Germania*, XI, p. 287.

⁸ Klæber, *JEGPh.*, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Brandl, *Pauls Grundriss*,² II, p. 991.

¹⁰ Löffler, *Das Passiv bei Otfrid und im Heliand*, Tübingen, 1905, p. 11. The present writer has been collecting instances, from the older stages of various Germanic dialects, of stylistic *substitutes* for

However, there are at our disposal unmistakable examples from the later *Cædmon* which have a peculiar *à fortiori* bearing upon the existence of the personal agent in that *Beowulf* which is as yet entirely devoid of the analytic agent.¹¹ These examples are, *Gen.* 1553, *gefylled wearð eall þes middangeard monna bearnum*; *Gen.* 1765, *fromcyme folde weorðeð þine gefylled*, 'the earth by your descendants shall be populated'¹²; *Gen.* 1967, *þā wæs gūðhergum be Jordane wera ēðelland geondsended, folde feondum*, 'then near the Jordan the dwellings of men were beleaguered with armies, the land by the enemies';¹³ *Gen.* 2001, *gewiton . . . secgum ofslegene*, 'sore pressed by the heroes'¹⁴; *Gen.* 2204, *þæt sceal fromcynne folde þine geseted wurðan*, 'settled by your descendants'¹⁵; *Sat.* 558, *þā wæs on eorðan ēce drihten feowertig daga folgað folcum*, 'drauf war auf Erden noch der ewigliche Herr gefolgt (oder, bedient) vom Volke vierzig Tage.'¹⁶ The examples here cited cannot be called inconclusive. An instance like *Gen.* 1162, *he æðelinga rim feorum geicte*, 'he increased the number of the noblemen by means of children,'

the personal agency with passive expressions. An enumeration of the various types does not belong to these pages, yet it is interesting to observe that an almost lapidary sentence like *Beow.* 2202, *Hearðrēde hilde-mēceas tō bonan wurdon*, manages to avoid altogether the modern 'slain-by-the-enemies' construction; that in *Soul*, 110 ff., *bið þæt heafod tohliden, handa toliðode, geaglas toginene, goman toslitene, sina beoð asocene, swyra becowen*, where at least in connection with the last phrase one expects an equivalent of 'a vermibus,' there is no agent expressed; that there is to be found at times even a studied omission of it, as in *Ps. C.* 33, *handgeweorces þines anes*, to render 'manu facti a te uno.'

¹¹ Cf. *The Analytic Agent in Germanic*, *JEGPh.*, XIII, p. 518.

¹² Grein, *Sprachschatz*², p. 229, 'inst. fromcyme þine.'

¹³ *Idem.*, p. 187: inst. pl. feondum.

¹⁴ Grein, *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*, I, p. 56.

¹⁵ Grein, *Sprachschatz*², p. 229, inst. fromcynne þine.

¹⁶ Cf. *idem.*, p. 204.

'liberis,' is a good illustration of what the dative-instrumental of personal agency is not: *he* is the subject, and *feorum* is the instrumental of personal means.¹⁷ The causer of the increase, the source, is Cain, and not the children which he procreated during the 840 years alluded to by the chronicler. However, in *Cri.* 1593, *þonne heofon and hel hæleða bearnum fira feorum fylde weorðeð*, 'when heaven and hell become populated with the sons of heroes, the lives of men,' one can no more assume that *feorum* is a similar instrumental of means, since it at the same time denotes the actual doer of the action;—what other answer can be given to the question, 'who is to populate heaven and hell?' Moreover, what is to be said of the following instances? *Ps.* 106³⁸, *oft hi fea wurdan feondum geswencte*, 'vexati,'¹⁸ where the 'enemy' is the immediate cause of the vexation; *Run.* 22, l. 67, *Ing wæs ærest mid Eastdenum gesewen secgun*, where the rune in question was 'seen first by men among the East-Danes'¹⁹; 14 *Ælfric* 16 (Sweet's Reader), *wearð ða him inweardlice gelufod*, 'beloved by him,' as against the analytic, *Ælfred*, B. 314, *he wæs fram eallum monnum lufað*; *Cri.* 625, *scealt eft geweorfan wyrnum aweallen*, where surely the 'worms,' living beings, represent the logical subject of the action, 'durchwallt von Würmern'²⁰; *Jud.* 115, *wyrnum bewunden, witum gebunden* a striking example at once of the personal agent, *wyrnum*, and of the personified means of

¹⁷ Similarly in *Gen.* 2235, *þa heo wæs magotimbre be Abrahame eacen worden*, the real agent of the passive expression is Abraham,—here analytically and not synthetically denoted—and the 'son' is a mere indication of the means of the action, 'when she with a man-child by Abraham was become heavy.'

¹⁸ Grein, *Sprachschatz*,² p. 187.

¹⁹ Jacob Grimm, Ettmüller, Grein: *secgun*; cf. Grein, *Sprachschatz*, p. 590.

²⁰ Grein, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

the action, *witum*, 'von Würmern umwunden, mit Wehqual gebunden'; *Mod.* 56, *fæst wyrmum beþrunge*, 'fest von Würmern bedrängt,' with which compare Old Norse, *i garð þanns skrifinn vas innan ornum*, 'perreptatum anguibus,' *Akv.* 34, 2; *Phoen.* 340, *Fenix biþ on middum þreatum biþrunge*, 'vom Vögelschwarm umdrungen.'

This is one of the cases where the writer cannot add, 'instances may be multiplied at will.' They cannot, and sufficient reasons have been given for the want. But instances there are, as we have seen, and enough in number to refute in themselves the complaint that to retain the ms. reading of *Beowulf*, l. 1068, *eaferum* would give rise to "a harsh and unusual construction." Significant in this connection is also Trautmann's notion of l. 1103, *þā him swā gefearfod wæs*, which he regards as a corruption of *gefeahfod*, in the sense, 'darauf war (ward) ihnen so überlegt = darauf überlegten, beschlossen sie dies.'²¹ He correlates the construction with l. 1787, *þā wæs eft swā ær ellenrōfum flet-sittendum fægere gereorded*, 'da ward wieder wie früher von den streitbaren, den saalgästen, geziemend geschmaust.'²² As to the interpretation of l. 1151, *þā wæs heal roden fēonda fēorum*²³ which Trautmann alters to *stroden fēonda folcum*, 'darauf ward die halle geplündert von den haufen der feinde,'²⁴ Klaeber himself operates²⁵ with the concept of agency as nearly as one can without defining his syntactical ground, "von lebenden wesen oder leibern," 'the hall was made red by living beings.' It is plain that the editors of *Beowulf* have from time to time felt the need of this category of agency,

²¹ Trautmann, *Finn und Hildebrand*, p. 19; *Bonner Beiträge*, xvi, p. 63, 'Darauf ward von ihnen dies beschlossen.'

²² *Bonner Beiträge*, xvi, p. 101.

²⁴ *Bonner Beiträge*, xvi, p. 65.

²³ Ms. *hroden*: Bugge, *roden*.

²⁵ *Anglia*, xxviii, p. 445.

but hesitated as to its logical general application because of a lack of collected evidence.

And lastly of all, the very word which has given rise to all this discussion and formed one of the pivotal points in the interpretation of the Finn Episode, actually exists in two other instances, a comparison with which would seem to allow no room for further doubt: a) *Gen.* 2222, *þæt ic mægburge moste þinre rim miclian roderum under eaforum þinum*, 'that I might increase the number of thy race with thy descendants,' where *eaforum* is the person used as the means,—the proximate agent, I have elsewhere called the type,—with *ic*, *sc.* Sarra, the subject; b) *Riddles* 21²¹, *ne weorþeð sio mægburg gemicledu eaforan minum*,²⁶ 'shall not be increased by my posterity,'²⁷ where *eaforan* is what I have termed the ultimate agent.

It is this failure to detect, and accordingly recognize, the existence of the dative-instrumental of personal agency in Germanic which has led to unnecessary alterations in manuscripts transmitted to us. It moved, for example, Gering, in his third edition of Hildebrand,²⁸ to omit entirely the *mér* of the Codex Regius in *HH.* II, 8, 6, *því vas á lógi mér litt steikt etit*, because he did not comprehend its auctorial force and naturally could not find another meaning suited to the passage. It was for the same reason that Grimm, Ettmüller, and Vigfússon-Powell modified the Regius *ráp's þér rápit*, *Fm.* 21, 1 to *ráp's mér rápit*, thus substituting, in violation of the context, a dative of the indirect object in place of the logical subject, Sigurþr.²⁹

²⁶ Grein, *Sprachschatz*,² p. 140, "*inst. pl.*"

²⁷ Cf. Grein, *Dichtungen*, II, p. 217.

²⁸ Hildebrand-Gering, *Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, 3d ed., Paderborn, 1912.

²⁹ I find solely Nygaard, *Norrøn Syntax*, 1905, p. 99, giving the correct meaning of the passage, *af dig*.

And, similarly, with respect to *Beow.* l. 2957 *þa wæs æht boden sweona leodum*,³⁰ Schröder would not have been impelled to search for a modification, *lēoda*,³¹ if he had understood the force of the instrumental form in the manuscript.

III

We are now in a position to define the point at which the Finn-Episode opens. The stumbling-block, *eaferum*, manifestly need not be altered to *eaferan*; but what is the rationale of the verses 1066-1070? A glance at the varied texts and translations in Chapter I convinces us that the contested word has either been referred to the verb, *mānan scolde*,—as a direct object in the form of *eaferan*, or as a species of circumstantial dative, (*be* or *fram*) *eaferum*,—or, on the other hand, set off in a sentence of its own, as the efficient instrumentality of the procedure. In the instance of the prepositional phrase, both Thorpe and Socin construe *heal-gamen* as the object of *mānan*, and the gleeman ‘excites joy in the hall, concerning Finn’s descendants,’ or ‘mentions hall-joyance of the kinsmen of Finn.’ With the adoption of the accusative form, *heal-gamen* becomes the first, and *eaferan* the second and appositional object of *mānan*; in other words, the minstrel ‘proclaims the joys of the hall, viz. the descendants of Finn, when destruction fell over them.’ Line 1068, *Fīnnes eaferan, ðā hīe se fār begeat*, would accordingly terminate the sentence introduced by *ðonne*. This demarcation, advocated by Klaeber,¹ is the division also of Kemble, Thorpe, Leo, Heyne, Socin, and Trautmann,² to

³⁰ Zupitza’s autotype.

³¹ *Anglia*, XIII, pp. 346 ff.

¹ *Anglia*, XXVIII, p. 443.

² His latest conjecture appears in *Finn und Hildebrand*, p. 11.

enumerate only editors of the text. Schücking, accepting Trautmann's reading of *eaferan*, ends the sentence with *feallan scolde*, evades the issue, and presents a version which is well-nigh unintelligible, unless *ond* be understood before *hæleð*.³ In this he is followed by Holthausen³ (*Heidelberg* 1912-13). It is plain that, when the manuscript reading is retained, *mānan scolde* terminates one sentence, and *Finnes eaferum* begins another, which is closed by *feallan scolde*. This plan is endorsed by Grein, Wülcker, Arnold, Wyatt, Hoder, Chambers, and by both Holthausen¹ and Sedgefield,¹⁻² since they assume a lacuna after l. 1067, in imitation, I believe, of Rieger's *Lesebuch*.

The interpretation of the passage by all of the critics, save a few, regards the Episode as a direct quotation, the actual reproduction of the minstrel's words; but opinion is not lacking as to the paraphrastic character of the so-called lay. Marks of quotation are placed before l. 1068, "*Finnes* . . by Ettmüller, Grein, Wülcker, Bugge, Wyatt, Holder, Arnold, Holthausen,¹ Sedgefield¹⁻², and Chambers; before l. 1069, "*Hæleð* . . by Heyne, Socin and Trautmann;⁴ before l. 1071, "*Nē hūru Hildeburh* . . by Schücking and Holthausen³; ⁵ whilst Kemble, Thorpe, and Grundtvig—the latter assumes a considerable gap after *Scyldinga*—print no signs of division or of quota-

³ Bugge, *PBB*, XII, p. 28, Grein, *Sprachschatz*¹, and Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge*, II, p. 183, construe *hæleð* as an acc. pl. parallel with *hie*. More of this later.

⁴ Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge*, II, p. 184 (1899): 1069^b "*Hnæf Scyldinga; Finn und Hildebrand*, 1903, p. 30, and *Bonner Beiträge*, XVI, p. 60, 1069^a, "*Hæleð*."

⁵ Schücking, *Eng. Stud.*, XXXIX, p. 106, construes l. 1069, *hæleð scolde*, as an asyndetic, second dependent clause, introduced by *ðā*: 'als der held—fallen sollte.' "Dann beginnt der erste hauptsatz der eigentlichen erzählung. So beginnt die Sigmund-geschichte erst mit langem indirektem erzählungssatz bis sie v. 885 in den hauptsatz übergeht."

If however the other episodes of *Beowulf* are examined, the parallel drawn between the stories of Sigemund and Finn turns out to be only partly true, and the argument itself inconclusive. There is indeed a quality which sets them apart from the other episodes in the poem; it is not their reminiscential tone, for in *Beowulf* all episodes are recounted in a reminiscential tone,⁸ but the fact that, together with the Song of Creation, ll. 90-98, they form a triad of lays chanted by professional scopos in the epic. All the other episodes may be disregarded in this connection; not because they are irrelevant parentheses,—for, in general, only a few of the digressions, as such, have their logical justification—but on account of their method of admission into the poem. Merely a small fraction of the parenthetical passages is introduced by means of a transitional step; most of them appear abruptly, with only “a tacit understanding between poet and hearers as to their nature.”⁹ Thus the tale of Freawaru and Ingeld, one of the clear-cut episodic narratives, is not told directly, but only incidentally, as part of the hero’s report of his adventures to his uncle. The episode of the shrewish Thrytho, suggested by the mild grace of queen Hygd, is—just as the contrast between Beowulf and Heremod—referred to in an entirely disjointed manner. Ongentheow’s deeds of valor at Ravenswood are but another of the many signs of Anglo-Saxon poetic discursiveness. The function of such lines of ancient gossip is to enrich and embellish the narrative with which they stand in no organic relation.

Of the three minstrel-sung lays, the first one is indirect. It begins,

⁸ Cf. Pizzo, *Zur frage der ästhetischen einheit des Beowulf*, *Anglia*, xxxix, p. 1.

⁹ Cf. Routh, *Two Studies on the Ballad Theory of the Beowulf*, Diss., Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 1905, p. 44.

þær wæs hearpan swēg,
 90 swutol sang scopes. Sægde sē þe cūþe
 frumsceaft fira feorran reccan,
 cwæð þæt se Ælmihtiga eorðan worhte,

Its setting aligns it with that of the Finn-tale and against the Lay of Sigemund. For, whereas the latter is recited in a quite informal manner, while the warriors make merry with racing and anecdotes, the Song of Creation and the Lay of Finn are of a solemn and formal character. In both instances the scop, a man greatly sought after and honored by kings, ceremoniously takes up his harp in the feast-hall and recites his song to the accompaniment of the glee-wood. The method of introduction in the case of the Sigemund episode, it need not be stressed, is substantially different, altho superficially similar. That they both have an introductory passage is natural: narrative technic required something more than the bare announcement by the poet of *Beowulf* that "a professional improvisator performed."

The Lay of Finn, moreover, seems rather to stand in a class of its own. Its insertion is more artistic than that of the two other episodes, in that it is no mere Christian moralizing as the Song of the Creation,¹⁰ nor, on the other hand, one of the numerous irrelevant poetic "tags," as is the Sigemund episode,—altho the motivation of the latter

¹⁰ It has not yet been brought out that this "song" is interpolated for the express *purpose* of depicting the state of mind of the evil spirit.

86 Ðā se ellen-gæst earfoðlice
 þræge gepolode, sē þe in þýstrum bād,
 þæt hē dōgora gehwām drēam gehýrde
 hlūdne in healle;

the aptest subject-matter for his especial exasperation; hence it is manifestly not of the ordinary run of capriciously selected extraneous tales, nor an episode in the anecdotic sense.

is without doubt of a superior quality. Alone of the three bardic tales it appears to be least dragged in by main force, but to have a distinct beginning and a distinct end. The reader is prepared for it by a graphic picture of the feast and revelry within the hall, the rise of the minstrel and the "greeting" of his harp.¹¹ And when the song comes to an end, the *Beowulf*-poet uniquely adds,

Lēoð wæs āsungen,
1160 glēo-mannes gyd. gamen eft āstāh.¹²

Compare with this the mere continuation of the account previously given of the clansmen's daily doings in l. 99,

Swā ðā driht-guman drēamum lifdon,

and with the resumption of the spirited horse-race at the conclusion of the tale concerning Sigemund,

916 Hwīlum flitende fealwe strāte
mēarum mæton.

Finally, if we are to believe Boer,¹³ l. 864 ff., the opening of the Sigemund episode, is an imitation by the epic poet of l. 916 ff. "Um die Sigemundepisode anzubringen, hat er den umweg¹⁴ vom vermeintlichen wettrennen auf anderen zeitvertreib, von einem vortrag über Béowulfs reise auf einen solchen über Sigemunds taten nicht gescheut,

¹¹ There is, of course, as the modern critics rightly reason, absolutely no need to assume a gap in the ms. after l. 1067.

¹² The episodes "of Sigemund and Finn (vv. 871 ff.) are introduced as sung by Hrothgar's scop, tho the former is in indirect discourse only. An account of Heremod follows it, and after this the return is abrupt and unexpected (v. 1063). In the case of the Finn episode both departure and return are made much more emphatic (vv. 1065, 1159)" (Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, Boston, 1907, p. 189). Cf. also Boer, *Die altenglische Heldendichtung*, Halle, 1912, p. 30.

¹³ Boer, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27, 48.

¹⁴ The long transition has, indeed, the effect, even tho not the character, of a "parenthetic exclamation"; cf. Krapp, *MLN*, xx, p. 33.

aber dass an der stelle, von der er ausgeht, von einem wettrennen als zeitvertreib die rede sei, hat er fälschlich in den text hineininterpretiert." A statement not at all improbable, when we remember the rather astounding shift from the warriors on the road to the clansmen in the high-built hall, l. 919.

From the foregoing we conclude that the stressing of a similarity between the transmitted form of the Sigemund-episode and of the Lay of Finn, having for its object the establishment of the latter as a paraphrastic account of the *Beowulf*-poet, is unwarranted by the external or stylistic facts of the case. The Finn-episode may, indeed, be an episode of "headings"—allusive clues to a familiar story—but of headings as put in the mouth of the singer of Hrothgar: not the totality of a large Lay of Finn, such as critics and commentators dream of, but as much as the epic poet prefers to have his scop represent in an interlude. The question, as the present writer conceives it, is not whether the minstrel chants such a Lay intact, but purely what the *Beowulf*-poet's sense of epic technic prompted him to entrust to one of his poetic characters. And in the general framework of the entire epic the scop's words are neither prolonged, nor disproportionately abridged. All the varied digressions of the *Beowulf* taken together measure but about four hundred lines.¹⁵

But little reflection is wanted to convince one that this question of "headings" itself, much made of in behalf of the paraphrase-theory,¹⁶ cannot vitally militate against

¹⁵ Of the entire epic Sedgefield says, "Our poem seems to represent as much as an entertainer could recite at a stretch without fatigue. The whole may be comfortably read without haste and with moderate pauses in about three hours" (*Beowulf*², Introduction, p. xxvii).

¹⁶ Commentators seem not to have noticed that, whereas the general action of the Episode is hurried, for a mere *résumé* the account

the Finn-episode being an exact reproduction of the scop's chant. The same undeveloped elements, the same suggestiveness, and the same suppression or suspension of motives can be discovered in the various specimens of accessible ballad poetry. The dramatic impetuosity of Browning's *How They Brought the Good News from Ghent*, the spirited dash of Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade*, or, for that matter, the spectacular—and, one might say, spasmodic—*Battle of Brunanburh*, all assume a certain familiarity which probably stands in need of no contemporary justification. With but a matter of a half-century between this generation and the Crimean War, and with the defiant bugle-call of the Six Hundred still fresh in our ears, we experience little or no difficulty in grasping the full import of the *Charge*. It is a "current" lay. But, without a full knowledge of the historical circumstances, the poem would prove to distant posterity to be a bundle of cryptic allusions, "discovered" mayhap by an artful critic to be a mere paraphrase. Set in the chant of a future scop, this defect could not be charged to the method of the "legendary poet" Tennyson; the obscurity would be due solely to the ignorance of the auditors.

IV

It now remains for us to consider what readjustments are necessitated in the legendary lore of the Episode by the conservative view taken of the ms. reading. With the discrepancies confronting us in the text, this is a difficult task.¹ That the Finnsburg Fragment and the attack

of the sorrowful funeral rites of Hnæf and his kinsman is entirely too leisurely and full of genuine poetic beauty.

¹ It is conceivable that the poet of *Beowulf* is not the source of the various discrepancies. Cf. Brandl, *Pauls Grundriss*,² II, p. 1008;

therein depicted stand in vital connection with the subject-matter of the Episode, is agreed upon on all sides. Furthermore, the textual position of the Fragment relative to the Episode has also ceased to be a subject of serious controversy. As against a possible theory to the effect that the Fragment accounts for the last struggle in which Finn was slain, but especially against Möller, who maintained ² that the fight portrayed in the former belongs between ll. 1145 and 1146 of *Beowulf*,—in other words, that the Lay represents a supposititious second clash in which Finn breaks the treaty concluded with Hengest ³—modern editors are, as a rule, at one on Grein's conjecture that the incidents of the Fragment must have taken place prior to those recorded in the Episode, and that the narrative of the former breaks off abruptly just before the death of Hnæf and of Hildeburh's son.⁴ Our immediate concern ends with the

cf. also Pizzo, "Allerdings können widersprüche in der verfassung vorhanden sein; wenn aber dies der fall ist, dann war der dichter, als er sie durchgehen liess, nicht der gestalter, sondern das opfer seiner materie," *Anglia*, XXXIX, p. 4. As to the "episodic" poet, in particular, cf. Boer, *Die altenglische Heldendichtung*, I, pp. 45 ff.

² Möller, *Das altenglische Volksepos*, Kiel, 1883, p. 65. Möller's interpretation of the Finn-saga has recently been resuscitated by Sedgefield, *Beowulf*², p. 258, s. v. *Finn*, and by M. G. Clarke, *Sidelights on Teutonic History during the Migration Period*, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 181 ff.

³ Cf. also Schilling, *MLN*, I, pp. 178 ff.; II, pp. 291 ff. That the epic poet would not, if the Fragment represented the second struggle, omit the mention of such an important event, one which really motivates the second part of the Episode, was ably pointed out by Bugge, *PBB*, XII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ There is, of course, no warrant for a belief that the Fragment ever formed part of *Beowulf*. Simrock's insertion of it into the epic, in connection with the Finn-episode, stands to-day deservedly repudiated. Brandl, *Pauls Grundriss*², II, p. 985, considers it to be, rather, an independent poem,—not part of a longer epic,—with a more detailed version of the same subject-matter as is to be found in the Episode. Ker's hypothesis (*Epic and Romance*, London, 1897,

sorrows of Hildeburh. The subsequent course of the hostilities; the pact of peace plighted by the combatants; the plots of vengeance planned by Hengest; the moot interpretation of l. 1142 *worold-rædenne*; the exact part played by "Hūnlāfing,"—formerly held to be a sword, but at present, what is more likely, a Danish personage—; the obscure details of the mission of Guthlaf and Oslaf,—all these points present problems that are enticing,⁵ but not relevant to the opening of the Episode as such.

The questions of content vitally important for the determination of this opening may be grouped as follows.

- (a) What is the point of contact between the contending parties?
- (b) What is the cause of the hostilities culminating in Finn's death?
- (c) Which of the combatants is responsible for the outbreak of the feud?

pp. 81-84) makes the Fragment the elaboration of but a single scene, the battle in the hall.—Carrying out Brandl's suggestion somewhat farther, may we not see in the Episode and in the Fragment, two poems with closely related but distinct subject-matters? A case in point would be Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade* and his less well-known *Charge of the Heavy Brigade*. Both refer to the Crimean battle of Balaclava, and are absolutely similar in theme and execution. Even as to form,—altho the latter poem is preponderantly anapestic in movement, were it preserved only as a fragment, consecutive lines, such as (III).

Fell like a cannonshot,
Burst like a thunderbolt,
Crash'd like a hurricane,

could well be assigned by a commentator, not conversant with the circumstances, to the dactylic rhythm of the *Light Brigade*.—Such a view cannot, of course, be substantiated. But we may safely say that the poet of the Fragment could not have made use of the saga in the same form as the Episode depicts it. Cf. Heinzel, *Anz. f. deut. Altert.*, x, pp. 228 ff.

⁵ An eminently fair discussion of the vengeance of the Danes is given in Professor Lawrence's above-cited article in the *PMLA*.

The reconstruction of the entire story cannot, as has so often been pointed out, be accomplished with final certainty. After all, the two passages at our disposal elucidate but a limited number of data. However, as far as the opening lines are concerned, there is actual warrant for gathering that the far-famed warrior of the Half-Danes, referred to as Hnæf of the Scyldings, meets his death in a Frisian encounter. Thus, thru the treachery of the Frisians, the contending parties: Danes or Half-Danes or Scyldings and Frisians or Eotens, clash in a bloody fray at the residence of the Frisian chieftain, Finn,—most likely the *Fin Folcwalding Frēsna cynne* of *Widsith*, l. 27.

There have been advanced two typical attempts to explain the presence of the Danes at the "court" of Finn. According to the first version,⁶ a contingent of Danes under the command of Hnæf,—chief of the Danes, son of Hoc, and probably the ruler of the Hocings mentioned in *Widsith*, l. 29—are staying as guests with Finn (whose wife is Hildeburh, Hnæf's sister), when they are perfidiously attacked by their host. The other explanation would have a war of invasion waged on the Frisians by the Danish aggressors. Omitting, for the sake of argument, the philological consideration embodied in l. 1068, *eaferum*, we find no definite support, in the shape of direct statement, either in the Fragment or in the Episode, that Finn was the aggressor, or, for that matter, the Danes themselves. All that can be assumed, from reading in and not

⁶ It would fulfil no purpose at this point to tabulate critics and editors according to their adherence to one version or the other. Suffice it to note that Grein, *Jahrb. für Rom. u. Eng. Lit.*, iv, p. 269, is one of the early and important editors to maintain the views of a treacherous night-attack upon the Danish guests, and that, in connection with the theory of a Danish raid, Möller, *Altengl. Volksepos*, had best be referred to.

between the lines, is that relations between the two races may have been strained before the actual combat. All further hypotheses, having in view either the temporary settlement of this state of friction thru the marriage of Hildeburh to Finn, or a revenge subsequent to an abduction of the Danish princess by the Frisian chief, involving the pursuit of the raider by the irate father, the latter's ignominious defeat and death, etc.,—are fabricated out of whole cloth and receive no warrant from the original versions. The rebuilding of the cause and sequence of events is one of the legitimate results of textual criticism, but such experiments, as the history of the Finn-saga shows, rest on tenuous foundation. A careful scrutiny of the actual available evidence, we then conclude, fails to disclose either the exact nature of Hnæf's mission at Finn's burg or the cause of the hostilities which ultimately compassed the fall of both.

The lodging of the responsibility for the outbreak of the feud, however, lends itself to a more than hypothetical reasoning. Möller attaches the blame to the Danes, in natural accordance with his general theory.⁷ The Trautmann-Klaeber reading of l. 1068, *eaferan*, as well as the older insertions of *be* or *fram*, on the other hand, represent the Danish visitors being attacked in their quarters. The present writer believes that, once the relation existing between l. 1068 *hie*, l. 1069 *hæleð*, and l. 1072 *Eotena trēowe* is satisfactorily ascertained, the rationale of this question will no longer be in doubt, especially since the manuscript reading of the crucial word, *eaferum*, has been shown to be both linguistically and stylistically tenable.

⁷ Möller, *Altengl. Volksepos*, p. 69, "Dass im ersten kampf Hnäf der angreifer, die Friesen die angegriffenen waren, ist ausdrücklich gesagt in den ersten wörtern der episode: (*Finnes eaferum*) ða hie se fær begeat." This view has the support of M. G. Clarke, *Sidelights*, p. 181 ff., but cf. Heinzel, *Anz. f. deut. Altertum*, x, p. 227.

Bugge, who regards l. 1068 as the commencement of the Episode, repudiates Grundtvig-Kemble's unnecessary emendation of l. 1069 *Healf-Dena* into *Healfdenes*, because a leader is not designated a *hæleð* of his king, and interprets the latter word not as a nom. sg., parallel to *Hnæf*, but as an acc. plural, the object of *begeat*, anticipated by the appositional *hīe*.⁸ Trautmann adopts Grein-Bugge's conception of *hæleð*, but solely in order to harmonize it with his proposal, *eaferan*, "da musste ein saal-mann . . . Finns nachkommen preisen (beklagen), nachdem das verderben über sie, die helden der Halbdänen, gekommen war."⁹ Wyatt¹, however, definitely objects to the construction resulting from the equation of *hīe* with *hæleð*: it would force the former from its natural and obvious meaning, as referring to *eaferum*. This arrangement may be seen in the concrete in Morris and Wyatt's rendering:

By Finn's sons aforetime, when the fear gat them,
The hero of Half-Danes, Hnæf of the Scyldings,
On the slaughter-field Frisian needs must he fall.

The interpretation here advanced, namely that the Danes formed the attacking party and that *Hnæf* was slain by the Frisians, "when the fear gat them," is possible only on condition that, wind of the designs of the Frisians having reached the Danes, the latter resolved to forestall their murderous assault. Such a view would reconcile the tale of the immediate attack with Hildeburh's lament concerning the "good faith of the Eotens," and even redound to Danish alertness and valor, but suffers from one grave

⁸ Bugge, *PBB*, XII, p. 28. In Grein's *Sprachschatz*² the word is listed similarly as an accusative plural, whilst Grein's *Dichtung*, I, p. 251, translated the passage, "als der Ueberfall betraf die Helden Healfdenes."

⁹ *Bonner Beiträge*, II, p. 183.

defect: there is no actual support for it in the deplorably brief account of the story. And with reference purely to the latter it is a logical fallacy to have either the Danes or the Frisians overtaken by the sudden attack.

Who were, now, the Eotens whose good faith is impugned by the sorrowful queen? The name itself appears in ll. 1072, 1088, 1141, and 1145. According to Möller, p. 69, the Eotenas were the Danes, hence "*Eotena trēowe*, v. 1072 macht notwendig, dass Hnäf und Hengest die angreifer waren." Rieger,¹⁰ interprets the word in all instances as 'supernatural creatures,' 'giants,' hence simply 'enemies.' These theories are to-day generally discredited and scholars follow Bugge,¹¹ in equating the Eotenas with Finn's men, the Frisians, or, more accurately, (Siebs)¹² in the transference of the name from the Eotenas or Jutes, living in a territory contiguous to that of the Frisians, to the Frisian conquerors of the Jutish territory. It is recognized that Möller's identification of them with the Danes was necessitated by his peculiar conception of the source of the opening attacks. If, then, it was the Frisians whose good faith the bereaved Hildeburh could not praise, then the inference is that it was the Half-Danish warriors who were assaulted by Finn's men, and that it was in the ensuing self-defence that Hnäf was slain. This much it is not only permissible but even important to hold and to emphasize, since thereby Wyatt's argument is robbed of its point and the appositional relation of *hīe* to *hæleð* is decisively vindicated.

According to Professor Klaeber,¹³ such a relation is "far-fetched." It is to be regretted that he does not back

¹⁰ Cf. *ZZ*, III, p. 400.

¹¹ Cf. *PBB*, XII, p. 37.

¹² Cf. *Pauls Grdr.*² II, p. 524 and I, p. 1158, *apud* Lawrence, *loc cit.*, p. 394.

¹³ Klaeber, *Observations on the Finn Episode*, *JEGPh.*, XIV, p. 548.

his view with actual proofs. As a subjective impression, the *obiter dictum* is of interest, yet the condemnation it voices is too sweeping to be left unanswered. If it is a question of a general negative statement which we have before us, the one example cited already by Bugge should be a positive proof sufficient for refutation. This example, l. 1075, *Eal þū hit gefýldum healdest, mægen mid mōdes snyttrum*, 'thou dost carry it calmly, the might with discreetness of spirit,' is a good counterpart of our construction in *Beowulf*.

This species of, what might be termed, the 'proleptic pleonastic personal pronoun' must not be confounded with the combination of the prepositive pronoun and the subject of the sentence, as in Ælfred, *ic Beda Cristes ðeow and mæssepreost senda gretan*, Be. 471, 7, or in modern legal phraseology, 'he the aforesaid party of the second part'; it is a species where pronoun and noun are separated by a verb, as in the sentence under consideration. It has been possible to gather more examples of this sort; we cite them as found in the respective texts:

Cædmon's *Hymnus*: *He ærest sceop eorðan bearnum heofon to hrofe, halig scyppend*;

Ælfred, Be. 489, 19, *sende he eac swylce on ða ylcan tid se eadiga Papa Gregorius*;

Ælfric, I, 146, 34, *hē cwæð ðā, sē apostel Paulus*;

Blickl. Hom. 225, 35, *him . . . þam eadigan were*;

Cædmon, *Gen.* 2504, *Unc hit waldend heht for wera synnum Sodoma and Gomorra sweartan lige, fyre gesyllan*, 'them the Lord commanded for the sins of men, Sodom and Gomorrha, to be given over to the black flame, to fire.'

Gen. 403: *Uton oðwendan hit nu monna bearnum, þæt heofonrice, 'Lasst uns es den Menschen nun entwenden, das Himmelreich.'*

Riddles, 23, 19, *þæt hy stopan up on oþerne ellenrofe weras of wæge and hyra wæg gesund*, 'so that they could ascend the other (sc. shore) the heroes, the warriors and their steeds unharmed.'

More modern examples are, 'He was the founder thereof Ioseph of Armathyes sone,' Mallory's *Morte d'Art.*; 'I had it just now, the reason, but it has escaped me,' *Sir Charles Grandison*.

Taken, then, all in all, the results which have been gained from the preceding pages correspond *materially* with the opinions entertained by modern scholars: it is the Danes who are overtaken by the swift attack, and it is the Frisians who fall upon them in a treacherous manner. From the standpoint of *form*, we have been obliged to dissent. The application of the proper linguistic and text-critical principles (*a*) has confirmed the latent suspicion of the older editors,¹⁴ that the conception of a dative-instrumental of personal agency was the correct interpretation of the instrumental form, *eaferum*, in the manuscript; (*b*) has demonstrated that neither on the score of actual occurrence nor on stylistic grounds can there be any valid objection entertained to the employment of an anticipatory pronoun in the passage under scrutiny; (*c*) has consequently vindicated the possibility for the Finn-episode of a lay of non-paraphrastic character.

The Opening of the Finn-episode, thus, assumes the following textual appearance:

| | | |
|------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1063 | Ðær wæs sang ond swēg | samod ætgædere |
| | fore Healfdenes | hilde-wisan, |
| | gomen-wudu grēted, | gid oft wrecen, |
| | ðonne heal-gamen | Hrōþgāres scop |
| | æfter medo-bence | mænnan scolde. |
| | "Finnes eaferum, | — ðā hīe se fæ̃r begeat, |
| | hæleð Healf-Dena,— | Hnæf Scyldinga, |
| 1070 | in Frēs-wæle | feallan scolde. |

Rendered into English,

¹⁴ Kluge, *PBB*, ix, p. 187, has an interesting remark as to the treatment which the conjectures of commentators receive.

- 1063 There was song and music mingled together
 Before ¹⁵ Healfdene's ¹⁶ wielder of war.¹⁷
 The glee-wood was struck, songs many recited,¹⁸
 What time ¹⁹ the hall-glee Hrothgar's scop
 O'er mead-benches must make known:
 1068 "By Finn's battle-fighters,²⁰ — when onset befell them,
 The heroes ²¹ of Half-Danes,²²— Hnæf of the Scyldings
 In Frisian slaughter ²³ was fated to fall.

¹⁵ Möller, *Eng. Stud.*, XIII, p. 28, alters *fore* into *ofer*. Grein, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. eng. Lit.*, 1862, p. 269, interprets the word as 'concerning,' i. e., Hnæf, as in *Panther*, l. 34. Cosijn, *Aanteekeningen*, pp. 18 ff., advanced 'before,' 'coram,' which is now finally accepted; cf. *Beowulf*, l. 1215, *Widsith*, ll. 55, 140 and 104, *for*.

¹⁶ Sedgefield, *Beowulf*², still thinks that MS. *Healfdenes* should be *Healfdena*, as below, in l. 1069. Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge*, II, p. 183, holds that *Healfdenes* is an error for *Hröðgāres*, but in *Finn und Hildebrand*, p. 11, he advocates *Healf-Dena*. But the alteration is unnecessary. *Healfdene* here is in all likelihood the father of Hrothgar, mentioned in ll. 57, 189, 268, etc.

¹⁷ Grein's *Sprachschatz*¹⁻², s. v. *hilde-wisa*—"fore *Healfdenes hilde-wisan*, i. e., fore *Hröðgare, filio Healfdeni*." This is the most sensible view. Trautmann's change of *hilde-wisan* into *hilde-wisum*, *Bonner Beiträge*, II, p. 183, "wie umgekehrt *eaferan* (ist verborgen) in *eaferum*," is interesting, in that we may then have 'before Healfdene's veterans,'—a view similar to that which Chambers, p. 54 fn. suggests if *hilde-wisan* be taken as a dat. pl. i. e., like l. 2020 *for duguþe*,—it seems best to interpret the passage as an anachronistic reference to Hrothgar in the capacity of his father's war-leader; cf. Klaeber, *Anglia*, XXVIII, p. 449. Also Holthausen, *Beowulf*², II, p. 127, "Vgl. *Wald*. I, 6: *Ætlan ordwynga*."

¹⁸ Sievers, *PBB*, XXIX, p. 571, "Manch ein Spruch wurde vorge-
 tragen." Cf. also *Anglia*, XXVII, p. 219; *Mod. Phil.*, III, p. 249; as
 against this, see Lübke, *AfdA.*, XIX, p. 342, *eft*, rendered by Traut-
 mann, *Bonner Beitr.*, XVI, p. 61, 'wieder e. A. lied vorgetragen.'

¹⁹ For a similar transition, cf. l. 880, noted in *Anglia*, XXVIII, p. 443.

²⁰ Trautmann's *gefēran* and Binz's *earfeþu* have been mentioned be-
 fore. Cosijn, *op. cit.*, p. 26, refers to l. 1710, and shows that neither
 'sons,' 'children' nor 'descendants,' but 'warriors' is the term
 suited to the passage.

²¹ We follow Bugge, *PBB*, XII, p. 29.

²² The MS. reading *healf-dena* was modified into *Healfdenes* by
 Grundtvig, Translation, 1820, p. 283, Kemble, ed. 1835 and, as a

In the course of the foregoing discussion we have refrained from more than alluding to the theory which would identify the contest mentioned in l. 1068 as the last of the series of struggles, the one in which Finn met his doom, and not the fight which was followed by the Dano-Frisian armistice. "This is the fight in which the Danes are the aggressors, in which 'a sudden attack fell upon the men of Finn,' whereas everything goes to show that in the earlier contest, related in the *Fragment*, the attack was made by the Frisians."²⁴ As far as we can see, the plan of the so-called Episode, under this scheme, would be as follows:

(a) The *Beowulf*-poet represents his scop as rising to sing of the vengeance taken upon Finn, ll. 1065-1068, inclusively;

(b) Hnæf's fall, i. e. the treacherous attack upon the Danes, fragmentarily related in the *Lay of Finnsburg*, is alluded to, ll. 1069-70;

(c) Hildeburh's sorrow and the tale of Danish injuries in Friesland are recounted, l. 1071 onwards.

The difference in the interpretation of the moot lines between this view and the one advocated by the present writer is, of course, in the division of the lines. According to our division the account of the ultimate Danish revenge opens with an emphatic statement to the effect

rule, inclusive of Wülcker, by all earlier editors. However, cf. Grein's separate edition, Cassel und Göttingen, 1867: *healfdena*. Since Bugge, *PBB*, XII, p. 29, the MS. form is current. The leaders are not called the 'hæleð' of their kings; *Healf-Dene* is a tribal name, like *Hring-Dene*, *East-Dene*, *Gār-Dene*; lastly, the expression is paralleled by l. 1154, *Scēotend Scyldinga*, and *Hell* l. 13, *hæleð Jūdea*.

²³ The expression is Gummere's, 1909. Wyatt-Morris, 1895, have 'slaughter-field.'

²⁴ Cf. W. W. Lawrence, *PMLA*, xxx, p. 399, for the most recent statement of the case.

that the blame for Hnæf's death rests upon Finn's warriors; whereas the former view begins with an anticipatory reference to the final conquest of Finn's men. Such is the explanation of the lines already advanced by Trautmann in his change of the word *eaferum* into *eaferan*, and in his translation,

als ein saalman, ein sänger Hrothgars,
über die metbänke hin besingen sollte den
Finn und seine geführten, als das verderben über sie kam:
'Hnæf der held der Halbdänen, der Scildinge,
sollte auf einer Friesen-walstatt fallen.'

Professor Lawrence's departure, then, from this point of view, which is also that of Gummere,²⁵ consists merely in the insistence upon the paraphrastic character of ll. 1069 ff. This has been shown to be far from an absolute necessity. But, granting for the sake of the argument that the epic poet here deals with a list of episodic summaries: the alteration in the ms. reading may still be avoided and the grammatical construction kept within the bounds of sound linguistic usage. Namely, Hrothgar's scop announced the joy of hall "by means of Finn's thanes (ms. *eaferum*), when the attack befell them," i. e. by reciting the disaster overtaking them. This would be an instance, not infrequent, of the 'person employed as the means of the action,' as in l. 1018, *Heorot innan wæs frēondum āfylled*.²⁶

As to the anticipatory reference to the conclusion, there is indeed a stylistic gain in emphasis in such a topic sentence, as one might term it; but it is just as forceful, from a Danish patriotic standpoint, for the bard to make known

²⁵ Gummere, *The Oldest English Epic*, pp. 69 ff.

²⁶ For Old Norse, cf. Dietrich, *HZ.*, VIII, p. 62, "als werkzeuge können auch personen dargestellt sein."

at the outset the one vitally telling incident, Hnæf's death, in the tale of Frisian perfidy, and strike thereby the very keynote of his motivation, the leading count in his list of grievances. The impressiveness of the recital is further enhanced by the circumstance that the scop has artfully kept back this lay of all lays, until first "many a song was recounted," and then strikes his harp to sing his solemn interlude of Hildeburh's sorrow and of Danish vengeance. "Such as it is," says Professor Ker,²⁷ "it may well count as direct evidence of the way in which epic poems were produced and set before an audience, and it may prove that it was possible for an old English epic to deal with almost the whole of a tragic history in one sitting." But the Episode is emphatically not the reduction of a poem of full length which is "delivered in one evening by a harper," as he maintains,²⁸ for the sufficient reason that, according to the evidence of the text, l. 1065^b, it was not the sole event but merely a relatively brief incident, albeit the *pièce de resistance*, of the entire course of festivities, accounted for in detail by the epic poet from l. 1008 onward: Healfdene's son proceeds to the hall; Heorot is filled with friends; the king makes his distribution of gifts, war-steeds and weapons to Beowulf; the revel is enlivened by music and songs, among which a scop's Lay of Finn is recited; then the Scylding queen makes her speech of admonition to Hrothgar and of presentation to Beowulf;

Syððan æfen cwōm,
 ond him Hrōþgār gewāt tō hofe sīnum,
 rice tō ræste, reced weardode
 1238 unrim eorla, swā hīe oft ær dydon.

²⁷ Ker, *Epic and Romance*, p. 81.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

CONCLUSION

Boer¹ is the latest original investigator of the episodes in *Beowulf* to voice the common complaint of scholars with respect to l. 1068. The real meaning of *Finnes eafterum* is obscure, and this circumstance renders the question of the entire opening of the Finn-episode extremely complex. "Hier liegt also entweder ein fehler in der überlieferung vor, oder es mangelt uns nur an dem richtigen verständnis der stelle." The preceding study has, it is believed, demonstrated with reasonable certainty that the pivotal point of the misunderstanding is connected with the second alternative. A comparison of the episodes, and especially of the scop-sung interludes in *Beowulf*, has established the unique problem of style and delivery relative to the Finn-story. An unbiased search for the underlying syntactical principle has not only yielded an explanation of the grammatical interrelations involved, but has, in addition, confirmed what has thus far been regarded by careful scholars as a satisfactory adjustment of the legendary material.

This investigation could not have led to the desired results without harking back to Grein's words of admonition to textual critics:² "Bei der Behandlung des Textes galt es als erste Pflicht, handschriftliche Lesarten, wo es nur immer möglich war, zu retten und namentlich auch angezweifelte, den Lexicis fremde Wörter—and he might have added, constructions,—als wolbegründet nachzuweisen." It is not blind and uncompromising reverence for the text that is here advocated, but an upholding of the transmitted reading whenever and wherever it yields a tolerable sense, particularly if this sense can be confirmed by the linguistic

¹ *Altengl. Heldendichtung*, p. 29.

² Grein, *Bibliothek*, I, Vorwort, p. iv, 1853.

usage of cognate dialects. Only thus have we a weapon against riotous subjectivism. The path of the *Beowulf*-scholar is beset by such an astounding number of fluctuating linguistic, literary, and metrical annotations,—*swā monig bēoþ men ofer eorþan, swā bēoþ mōdgeþoncas*³—that their mere enumeration forms a source of endless confusion. That this betokens an interest in the great Anglo-Saxon epic is a rejoicing circumstance, but scarcely a plausible excuse. The time has clearly come, before the evil is hopelessly aggravated, to adopt a conservative viewpoint in textual criticism and to insist that a good interpretation should speak for itself, without violence to linguistic usage and without a patchwork of capricious alterations. The true critical faculty is sceptical but not supersubtle.

The more the literature of the subject is delved into, the less room and ground there seem to be for new opinions. When Justinian began his codification, there could be found no library spacious enough to hold the Roman Law. When he ended his work, the libraries were practically of no use, for the law became the matter of a single book. It is hoped that some *Beowulf*-scholar will put forth a text and a digest of textual institutes which will supersede all prior particularizations and render all further glosses supererogatory. The present study has had for one of its aims a contribution to such a critical pandect.

ALEXANDER GREEN.

³ *Gn. Ex.* 168: cf. Williams, *Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, New York, 1914, p. 125.